

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(34261)
(33055)

CONFIDENTIAL

November 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT ~~THE~~ PRESIDENT HAS SEEN. *TV*

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *HK*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Prime Minister Busia (Boo-SEE-ah)
of Ghana
Thursday, November 4, 1971
4:00 p.m. - 30 minutes
Oval Office

State Dept. review completed

I. PURPOSE

To demonstrate support for one of Africa's most responsible, moderate, and friendly governments, and to thank Busia for Ghana's support on the Chinese Representation issue. Busia knows that the appointment might otherwise not have been possible.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Busia urgently requested the meeting in a good, short letter to you (Tab 4). He promised "not to waste your time" and said he wanted to talk with you in confidence about two things: Ghana's political and economic situation, and "foreign activities in Africa" which he believes you will find of "relevance to American policies in Africa." Busia knows the US well, and once taught at Northwestern University. He has met you twice, having called on you in October 1969 and attended your Chiefs of State Dinner last fall. He is on his way to a State Visit to Mexico. By the time he sees you, Busia will have been the guest at a reception given by Senator Gale McGee, and a luncheon hosted by Secretary Rogers. (Further Background at Tab 1).

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

B. Participants:

Prime Minister Busia of Ghana
General Haig, NSC

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- C. Press Plan: There will be photo opportunities at the beginning of the meeting, and as you escort Busia to his auto.

III. ACTION SEQUENCE

When escorting President Busia from the Oval Office, you may wish to greet Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ofori-Atta, Ambassador Debrah, and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, David Newsom, who will be waiting in the Cabinet Room.

Attachments

Tab 1 - Further Background

Tab 2 - Talking Points

Tab 3 - Memorandum from Secretary Rogers to President, Nov. 2.

Tab 4 - Prime Minister Busia's letter to the President, October 13.

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Further Background

Busia's (and Ghana's) major problem is to make a moderate democratic government acceptable as the successor to Nkrumah's colorful but disastrous totalitarianism. Nkrumah left the country in sad shape, and burdened with a heavy debt. In order to get international support, Busia has followed highly moderate policies, adopted two straight austerity budgets, and refused to renege on the inherited debts. As a result, he is subject to a good deal of domestic pressure and the success of Ghana's experiment with responsible democratic government is in doubt. Busia's policies have, however, earned him the respect and support of the World Bank, the IMF, etc.

He feels that time is now crucial. He seeks enhanced support from the international institutions and from such friends as the US and the UK.

The US is supporting him with the IMF and the World Bank and the chances are good that he will get at least part of what he wants. We also plan to increase our own bilateral aid to Ghana within the limits imposed by our resources.

Busia has also, at considerable political risk, been notably moderate on the South African issue. He refuses to accept force as the only solution to the racial problems of southern Africa and has gone on the record with the belief that "dialogue" between black African states and South Africa should be given a full trial.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Ghana Prime Minister
Busia, 4:00 p.m., November 4; Additional
Information

In his conversations with Secretary Rogers, Busia's primary concern has been Ghana's heavy debt burden (inherited from the Nkrumah regime). You should know that, last night, Secretary Rogers promised Busia that we would attempt to help him with his major European creditors, stressing the importance we attach to the survival of Ghana's experiment with moderate and democratic government.

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TALKING POINTS

Points You May Raise

Chirep - You should express appreciation for Ghana's support on this issue. [Ever since independence, Ghana has voted against the Important Question. This year, at our request, Busia personally reversed that policy and supported us on all procedural votes, the Important Question, and the attempt to split the Albanian Resolution into the two parts.]

Points Busia May Raise

1. The Political and Economic Situation in Ghana - He will stress the necessity of getting Ghana's economy out of its depressed state, lest his people become disenchanted with the responsible, moderate, and democratic policies of his government. He will doubtless ask for more aid from the United States, and for our assistance in persuading the IMF and the World Bank to be more generous.

Suggested Response - Indicate our appreciation of the problems Busia faces in following moderate and democratic policies, and his need for support from the international community. Tell him that we have and will continue to encourage the World Bank and the IMF to be more forthcoming with Ghana, and that we hope to increase our own aid program to the extent that our resources will permit us.

2. "Foreign Activities in Ghana and Africa Generally" and Their Significance for the Western Democracies - We are not sure what Busia has in mind here. He is known to feel that our support for Nkrumah's government delayed its fall and Ghana's return to democratic government. He may, therefore, suggest a sharper focus of Western assistance upon friendly democratic governments in Africa. Or, he may wish to express concern about growing communist influence in Africa (e.g., the major Chinese Communist programs in Tanzania and Zambia, and the new Chinese Communist aid offer to Ethiopia). His letter indicates that he particularly relates this point to your policies as spelled out in the Africa section of your 1971 Foreign Policy Report to the Congress.
3. Commodity Agreement on Cocoa - Cocoa is Ghana's major export, and we buy 39 percent of it. Prices are now very low. Attempts to work

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for a commodity agreement got out of hand at a meeting in Geneva last September. Busia may press for American support on an Agreement.

Suggested Response - We are for a cocoa agreement and have worked toward one for years. To be workable, however, commodity agreements must meet the needs of major consumers as well as producers. We are prepared to be sympathetic and cooperative on the cocoa problem, but we cannot accept an unrealistic agreement just for agreement's sake.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...

THE CASTLE
OSU, ACCRA
GHANA

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PM.0062

PRIME MINISTER

13th October 1971

Dear President,

I hope to arrive in Washington on 2nd November, and will be in Washington on the 3rd and 4th of November. I shall leave on the 5th of November to Mexico for an official visit.

I have two reasons for coming to spend two days in Washington. One is the hope of seeing you. I shall be very grateful if you can spare a few minutes of your very busy time to see me in Washington either on the 3rd or 4th of November. It is to me an urgent request, and I believe you will find that I shall not waste your time. I shall talk with you privately and in confidence about two things. One is the political and economic situation of Ghana about which I went to London recently to talk with Mr. Heath, the Prime Minister of Britain. The second is that of foreign activities in Ghana and Africa generally, and the significance of this for the democratic countries of the Western world. I believe you will find this of some relevance to American policies in Africa.

I read with interest your Message of February 25 on American Foreign Policy and the broad applicability of the "Nixon Doctrine" in Africa. I believe you will find what I have to say not without significance.

With respectful and warm, personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

K. A. Busia

(K. A. BUSIA)
PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA

His Excellency
Mr. RICHARD NIXON,
President of the United States of
America,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

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